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American School  
of Classical Studies  
at Athens

ATTIC BUILDING ACCOUNTS<sup>1</sup>

[PLATES II-IV]

I. THE PARTHENON

THE Parthenon was begun during the political contest between Pericles and Thucydides, the son of Melesias (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 12). The decree which authorized the construction, dating probably from soon after 450 B.C., has never been discovered, but numerous fragments, seventeen of which may now be accepted as correctly identified, have been from time to time attributed to the stele containing the actual expense accounts. It was Köhler who discovered the first clue; to a series of seven fragments assembled by Kirchhoff (*Monatsb. Berl. Akad.* 1861, p. 860; *I. G.* I, 300-311), referring to a construction which was carried on through a period of at least fourteen years, beginning with 447/6,<sup>2</sup> Köhler (*Ath. Mitt.* 1879, pp. 33-35) united four others (one of them mistakenly),<sup>3</sup> of which two mention marble for pediment sculptures. Köhler's identification is now almost universally accepted.<sup>4</sup> To his ten authentic fragments additions have been made by

Foucart — three new pieces — including *I. G.* I, 300-302 *a*,

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Dr. B. Leonardos, formerly curator of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, for the opportunity to study these accounts on the original stones, and to Dr. A. D. Keramopoulos, the present curator, for permission to publish the already known pieces and to add some new fragments of the accounts of the Propylaea.

<sup>2</sup> The date of these fragments had previously given no hint, because it was then supposed that the Parthenon was begun before 454/3, and to it were assigned the fragments *I. G.* I, 284-288 (Kirchhoff, *Mem. d. Ist.* 1865, pp. 129-142; Michaelis, *Parthenon*, pp. 287-288).

<sup>3</sup> *I. G.* I, 111; 297 *a* and *b*, suppl. p. 37; 311 *a*, suppl. p. 74. The first of these, I, 111, does not belong with the others; the letters are too widely spaced.

<sup>4</sup> Bannier alone in recent times speaks of this inscription as unidentified (*Rh. Mus.* 1906, p. 220).

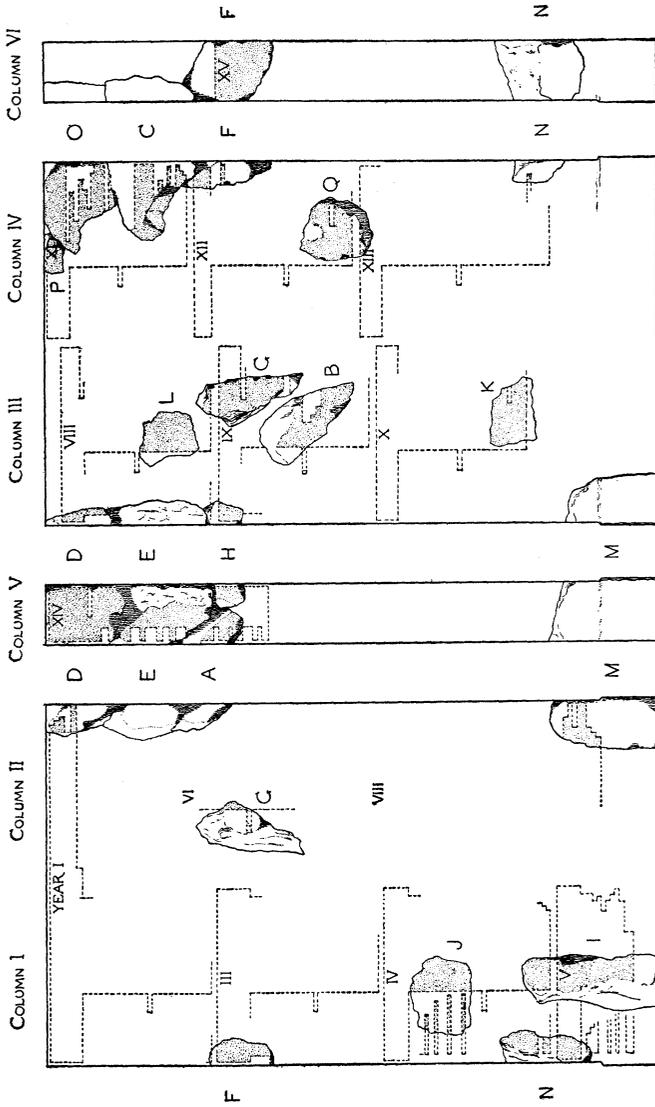


FIGURE 1. — THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS OF THE PARTHENON.

suppl. p. 147, and two pieces wrongly assigned, *I. G.* I, 312–313, 331 (*B. C. H.* 1889, 174–178), making thirteen in all.<sup>1</sup> His results were followed by Michaelis (*Arx Athenarum*,<sup>3</sup> *A. E.* 10).

Bannier — four new pieces — adding *I. G.* I, 220–221 (*Rh. Mus.* 1906, p. 223) and *I. G.* I, 327 (*Ath. Mitt.* 1902, p. 304), and two pieces wrongly assigned, *I. G.* I, 330, and *I. G.* II, 4323, suppl. p. 293 (*Rh. Mus.* 1906, 221; 1908, 429, 434).<sup>2</sup>

Cavaignac — two new pieces — adding Fig. 20 and Fig. 26 above, of his *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V<sup>e</sup> siècle* (pp. l, lvi, lx, lxii, and pl. II.), to Foucart's eleven authentic pieces, and one of Bannier's (*I. G.* I, 327), rightly discarding Foucart's *I. G.* I, 312–313 (*l. c.* p. lxxv) and 331, but unfortunately omitting Bannier's *I. G.* I, 220–221; his total was fourteen pieces.

Woodward — two new pieces (*B. S. A.* 1909–10, pp. 187–198).

For convenience I number the seventeen authentic pieces (Cavaignac's fourteen, Bannier's *I. G.* I, 220–221, and Woodward's two new pieces) as follows: A = *I. G.* I, 220–221; B = 297 *a*; C = 297 *b*; D + E = 300–302; F = 300–302 *a*; G = 303–305; H = 306–307; I = 308–309; J = 310; K = 311; L = 311 *a*; M = 327; N = Cavaignac, Fig. 20; O = Cavaignac, Fig. 26 above; P = *B. S. A.* 1909–10, p. 187; Q = *B. S. A.* 1909–10, p. 190. All of these seventeen fragments are now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, even including *I. G.* I, 327 (M), which Bannier supposed to be missing (*Ath. Mitt.* 1902, p. 304). Of the five fragments wrongly assigned to the stele, two, *I. G.* I, 111 and 312–313, are in the Museum, while three, *I. G.* I, 330, 331, and II, 4323, are missing; two, *I. G.* I, 312–313 and 331, belong to the Propylaea, while the others remain unknown.

Five fragments of the Parthenon stele had been dated — J in 444/3 B.C. and I in 444/3–443/2 B.C., on account of the

<sup>1</sup> Both *I. G.* I, 312–313 and 331 belong to the accounts of the Propylaea, as we shall see (Part III).

<sup>2</sup> Neither I, 330 nor II, 4323 is now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens; actual comparison is therefore impossible. But I, 330 would require drastic emendation, and could not in any case be combined with *I. G.* I, 309, as Bannier proposed, this position being occupied by Cavaignac's new fragment N. II, 4323, as represented in the *Corpus*, seems to preserve the width of the narrow edge as 0.12 m., while in the Parthenon stele it was 0.198 m.

names of the secretaries for the Hellenotamiae,<sup>1</sup> and D + E<sup>2</sup> in 434/3 B.C. and F in 433/2 B.C., on account of the names of the archons—and formed an unquestionable sequence, before Michaelis in 1901 attempted the first publication of the series as a whole (*A.E.* 10). His result was hardly successful; he included *I.G.* I, 312–313 and 331, which really belong to the Propylaea, and refused Christ's dating of fragment I. Bannier suggested several combinations, as of B, C, and G (only B and G really go together) and placing A in the fourteenth or fifteenth year (actually the former). The first comprehensive reconstruction of the series was attempted by Cavaignac in 1908 (*l.c.* pp. l–lxix, pl. II), on the basis of a study of the types of lettering as shown by squeezes; he decided that the stele was about 20 × 60 cm. in section and of great height, inscribed on the front (six years), the back (six years), and the left edge (three years). He failed, however, because of having used squeezes rather than the original stones; in three cases (D, I, and O) fragments preserving the top or bottom of the stele are placed in the middle, and the marked differences of weathering on the back and front are completely disregarded; it happens, therefore, that he mistakes the reverse for the obverse of the stele, that he misdates (in some cases by as many as nine years) one or more faces of nine of the fourteen fragments that he employs, that he restores only one column instead of two on each broad face of the stele, and that he does not recognize that the fourth face of the stele was also inscribed. Cavaignac's publication brought out two new combinations, the joining of C to O, and the association of I with N. The discovery of other combinations, coupled with the recognition of Cavaignac's errors, caused me to undertake, on the basis of the fifteen fragments known before 1910, a new restoration which was already complete when Mr. Woodward discovered the two new fragments which gave rise to his publication (*B.S.A.* 1909–10, pp. 187–198); his own views as to the correction of Cavaignac's arrangement he was so kind as to withdraw in favor of my restoration, of which he publishes a description (*l.c.* pp. 188–190) and a diagram (*l.c.* p. 198).

<sup>1</sup> J. Christ, *De publicis pop. Ath. rationibus*, p. 34; cf. *I.G.* I, 236, 237.

<sup>2</sup> Joined by Kirchhoff in 1861, *l.c.*

Of the seventeen authentic fragments, four (D, F, G, and N) are opisthographic, and exhibit in common one face badly weathered, with granulation of the marble near the letters and with vertical grooves caused by the beating of heavy rains, while the opposite face has the surface beautifully preserved, but with the letters sometimes corroded where drops of rain in comparative quiet trickled down and lodged in them. We shall find reason for identifying the well-preserved face as the obverse, the other as the reverse of the stele. Of the thirteen fragments that are not opisthographic, five (A, E, I, J, and M) are from the better preserved face or obverse, and eight (B, C, H, K, L, O, P, and Q) from the weatherbeaten reverse.

On three of the fragments, D and O + P,<sup>1</sup> the original top surface, roughly dressed with the hammer and point, is preserved. D has the entire thickness of the stone, 0.198 m., so that the other two cannot be from the opposite face at the same corner; these three pieces either were from two separate stelae or formed the two upper corners of a single stele; the latter is certain, as appears from the uniformity of the marble grain and of the corrosion of the surfaces. The words and letters on these two upper corners of the badly weathered face cannot possibly be combined in one column of inscription, so that we must certainly restore two columns.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, to these three fragments from the upper corners may be joined five others which preserve parts of one of the narrow edges and of one or both of the broad faces. To D Kirchhoff had joined E, to which in turn I fitted accurately the fractures of A and H. To O + P (joined by Woodward) Cavaignac had fitted C, and to this again I fitted F which had formerly been placed just below D + E.<sup>3</sup> We now have two groups, each of four fragments, from the upper right and left corners of the stele, and preserving the upper portions of six columns, two on each

<sup>1</sup> The junction between these was made by Woodward.

<sup>2</sup> This conclusion may be found repeated in Mr. Woodward's article (p. 189).

<sup>3</sup> The arrangement of F below D + E was the primary cause of Cavaignac's errors; it brought writing characteristic of the obverse below that of the reverse, wherefore Cavaignac assumed that the upper half of what is properly the reverse, being different in character from the lower half of the reverse which was continued (1) into the upper half of the obverse, must have been inscribed earlier and was therefore the obverse.

broad face and one on each narrow edge. The narrow edges contain the fourteenth and fifteenth years respectively, as appears from the archons' names, so that the accounts of thirteen years must be distributed between the four other columns. O + P give the name of the first secretary of the senate for the year concerned as Πειθιάδες,<sup>1</sup> who appears also in the Propylaea account of 437/6 B.C. (*I. G.* I, 314); this must, therefore, be the eleventh year of the Parthenon series which began in 447/6 B.C. Since O + P form the head of the right-hand column of the weatherbeaten face, this column is obviously the fourth of the series of six, and the weatherbeaten face is the reverse of the stele; for after only two more years both broad faces had been filled and the accounts could be continued only on the narrow edges. Column IV must have contained the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth years; column III, also on the reverse, began likewise with a new year (fragment D; cf. the discussion of the eighth year below), and must have contained the eighth, ninth, and tenth years. On the obverse appeared, therefore, the accounts of the first seven years. Fragments I and M, both of the obverse, preserve the bottom of the stele; the latter has also a narrow edge of the stele at the right and so forms the end of column II and of the seventh year's account; this conclusion is verified by the contents of M, expenses and the surplus which concludes each annual account. Fragment I cannot be combined with M and so forms the end of column I; it ends in the middle of a year's account, the fifth year as appears from Christ's identification of the secretary for the Hellenotamiae. Column II therefore contained only half of the record of the fifth year and all of the sixth and seventh years; the seemingly disproportionate length of column I will be accounted for when we observe that the second year was apparently omitted.

Each annual account began with a prescript, followed by two series of entries, receipts (λέμματα) and expenses (ἀναλόματα). The first receipt was always that of the surplus from the epistatae of the previous year; the last expense was the surrender of the new surplus to the epistatae of the next year; besides the surplus in silver drachmae each always included

<sup>1</sup> Woodward, *B.S.A.* 1909-10, p. 188.

97 $\frac{1}{6}$  gold staters of Lampsacus and Cyzicus which were never spent. The heading for the expenses was simply the word *ἀναλώματα*, occupying a line by itself. The heading for the receipts was a phrase, (τούτοις) *λέμματα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ (τούτο) τάδε*, incorporated with the end of the annual prescript; the *τούτοις* and *τούτο* were sometimes omitted because of lack of space, as in the third year and in the eleventh to fifteenth years inclusive (as read below). Each annual prescript (except the first) occupied the entire width of a column; below the prescript the column was divided, forming a double column for each annual account, the left half recording only sums of money, the right half the items.<sup>1</sup> Each entry begins with a fresh line (unlike the Erechtheum accounts), regardless of where the previous entry terminated, so that the columns have no proper right edges. The letters, however, almost always observe the *stichedon* arrangement, spreading only when the amount of available space is excessive. The type employed in the reproduction of these inscriptions resembles closely that on the original stones, except that the E should have the three bars equal in length, and in M all four strokes should slope.

The annual prescripts are completely preserved only for the fourteenth and fifteenth years (D and F); the fragments of the eleventh year (O + P) show that there the same formula obtained, *i.e.*, *Τοῖς ἐπιστάτεσι ἡοῖς — ἐγραμμάτευε ἐπὶ τῆς — δεκάτης βολῆς ἡεῖ — πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε ἐπὶ — ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίουσ(ιω)*. But fragments D (reverse), F (obverse), H (reverse), and N (obverse) all begin the prescript with E . . . , EΓ| . . . , or EΓ|TE . . . , and then after a gap appear the letters . . . ΣΗΕ| (fragment I). The restoration might be (1) *Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡεῖ* (Kirchhoff, in *I.G.* I, 304), (2) *Ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . ες ἀρχῆς ἡεῖ*, as in some tribute lists and in the Propylaea accounts (used by Cavaignac for his ninth and tenth years), (3) *Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς . . . . . ες ἡεῖ*, as in some of the tribute lists, (4) *Ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεῖ* (proposed by Woodward, *l.c.* p. 193, without analogy), or (5) *Ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . ες βολῆς ἡεῖ*, on the

<sup>1</sup> The same arrangement is characteristic also of the Propylaea stele. In one earlier account (*I.G.* I, 286), the money column is at the right of the item column; in another (*I.G.* I, 289-296), the sums are mingled with the items as in the later accounts of the Erechtheum.

analogy of the last years of the Parthenon accounts (used by Kirchhoff for *I. G.* I, 309, and by Cavaignac for his first eight years of the Parthenon). The solution is given by fragments G and I; in G we read ΕΛΡ[αμμάτευε] and [πρῶ]ΤΟΞ ΕΛΡΑ- [μμάτευε] in the first two lines, the latter referring to the first secretary of the senate and requiring the word βολέ, so that Kirchhoff correctly used ἀρχέ with the other secretary; in I we read in the corresponding positions . . . ε]Ξ ΗΕΙ and ΓΡΟΤΟΞ,<sup>1</sup> again requiring ἀρχέ (formulae 1, 2, or 3) and βολέ respectively. The second phrase of the prescript might then be restored, on the analogy of the Propylaea accounts, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεὶ — πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε,<sup>2</sup> were it not for the fact that in the only two places at which the results can be tested, fragments G and I, the words ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεὶ would occupy so much space as to leave none for the name of the first secretary of the senate,<sup>3</sup> which would be absurd; I therefore use the shorter form τῆι βολῆι on the analogy of *I. G.* II, 867. Then the numeral must have appeared in the first phrase, which would have been like formula (2) or (3); only (2) is of the right length to fit the allowable projection of the prescript to the left of the item column in fragments I + N, of the fifth year,<sup>4</sup> and this may be retained as the invariable first phrase

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff read here, by an impossible contraction of the lines, [Ἐπι τῆς — βολῆ]Ξ ΗΕΙ ΤΙΜΟΘ[εος — ]Ξ ΓΡΟΤΟ[ς ἐγραμμάτευε], whereupon Penndorf (*De scribis*, p. 132) restored ΤΙΜΟΘ[εος Ἀναφύστιω]Ξ, identifying him with the father of Conon, and this was retained by Ferguson (*The Athenian Secretaries*, p. 14) with the date ca. 435/4 derived from Michaelis. Cavaignac rightly expanded the lines, but rid himself of the secretary in the second line by reading ΓΡΟΤΟ[γένεσ]; yet a trace of the Ξ of πρῶτος is actually preserved.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase in *I. G.* I, 314–315 is usually restored καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς κ.τ.λ.; but there is no space for the καί.

<sup>3</sup> That is, if the lines are restored by means of the combinations G + H and I + N, as discussed below.

<sup>4</sup> On N, the prescript of the fifth year begins two spaces to the left of the money column of the year above, the fourth (cf. Cavaignac, Fig. 20); on J, the money column of the fourth year, as appears from the restoration of [ΔΔ] [ΞΞ] Η]ΕΚΤΕ, began sixteen spaces to the left of the item column of the same year (cf. Cavaignac, Fig. 21); on I it appears that the left edge of the item column shifted one letter space between the fourth and fifth years (cf. Cavaignac, Fig. 22). The prescript of the fifth year began then nineteen spaces to the left of the item column of the same year; on I it appears that the item column begins under the Ε of ΗΕΙ and ΕΓΙ ΤΕ[ς πέμπτες ἀρχῆ]Ξ Η make up exactly the number of nineteen letters.

of the first ten annual prescripts. The rest of each prescript gave a list of the epistatae (omitted in the last five years) closing, instead of opening as in the Propylaea accounts, with the word *ἐπιστάται*. Finally came a phrase evidently beginning with  $\text{HOI}\Xi$  (fragment I) and ending with  $[\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho]\text{AMMATEY}[\acute{\epsilon}]$  (fragment G),<sup>1</sup> as if the person named were secretary to the epistatae, already named in the first line; for this reason Kirchhoff and Cavaignac restored the same name in the first and fifth lines of the prescript on G; but in the fifth year the two names in these positions were certainly different,  $\text{TIMO}\Theta^1[\text{os}]$  and  $\text{AN} \dots$ .<sup>2</sup> Analogous are the tribute lists of 443/2 and 442/1 B.C. (*I. G.* I, 237, 238), when two secretaries were attached to each board of Hellenotamiae; the first *ἐγραμμάτευε*, the second *χσυνεγραμμάτευε*, and the second we note was permanent, at least for two years; the Erechtheum board of 408/7 had also a *ὑπογραμματεύς*, Pyrgion of Otryne (*I. G.* I, 324, a, c). Traces of the name of this third secretary in the Parthenon accounts are preserved only in the fifth year,  $\text{AN} \dots$ , which Kirchhoff restored  $\text{AN}[\text{τικλῆς}]$ ,<sup>3</sup> causing Michaelis to date the fragment wrongly as ca. 435/4 B.C.<sup>4</sup> In the eleventh year, however, fragment P gives the name of the secretary for the epistatae as  $\text{ANI}$ , tempting Woodward (*l.c.* p. 188) to restore  $\text{'}\text{AN}\text{Τ}[\text{ικλῆς } \text{'}\text{Οἰθῆν ?}] \text{ΕΛΡΑΜΜΑΤΕ}[\text{υε}]$ ; but to place the demotic before the verb is unusual, the spacing of  $\text{ANI}$  seems to indicate that there were twelve letters instead of thirteen before the *ἐγραμμάτευε*, and the last of these appears to have a vertical hasta (cf. Cavaignac, Fig. 26); I restore therefore  $\text{'}\text{AN}\text{Τ}[\text{ικλῆς } \chi\sigma\upsilon]\text{ΝΕΛΡΑΜΜΑΤΕ}[\text{υε}]$ . This longer verb fills also the required space on G. There is no space for the *χσυν-* on the reverse of F which may be identified as a fragment of the twelfth year (see below), and in the thirteenth year (Q as identified below), where the end of the name is preserved,<sup>5</sup> the *χσυν-* is certainly omitted. It would appear, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> The unique last lines on the obverse of F,  $\text{KAIHO} \dots$  and  $\text{POI}\Xi\text{I} \dots$ , will be discussed later (third year).

<sup>2</sup> It was to avoid the mention of three different secretaries in the fifth year that these first two lines have always been wrongly restored.

<sup>3</sup> Rejected by Cavaignac.

<sup>4</sup> Accepted by Ferguson.

<sup>5</sup> Woodward reads  $\dots ]\text{O}\Xi \text{ΕΛΡ}[\alpha\mu]\text{ΜΑΤΕ}[\text{υε}]$  (*l.c.* p. 193), but it is a vertical hasta, as for  $\dots ]\text{E}\Xi$ , that appears on the stone.

that Anticles attained the full secretaryship in the twelfth year. The annual prescripts may now be restored without difficulty; the formulae are given below in tabular form:

FIRST TEN YEARS	LAST FIVE YEARS
Ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . ἐς ἀρχῆς	(Τοῖς) ἐπιστάτεσι
ἡεὶ . . . . . ἐγραμμάτετε . . . . .	ἡοῖς Ἀντικλῆς (χσνν) ἐγραμμάτετε
τῆι βολῆι	ἐπὶ τῆς (. . . ἐς καὶ) δεκάτες βολῆς
. . . . . πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτετε	ἡεὶ . . . . . πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτετε
	ἐπὶ . . . . . ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίου(ν)
(list of ca. 5 epistatae)	_____
ἐπιστάται	_____
ἡοῖς (Ἀντικλῆς) χσνεγραμμάτετε (. . . . .)	_____
τούτοις λέμματα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ (τούτω) τάδε	λέμματα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ (τούτω) τάδε

It is interesting to note that the change of the formulae coincides with the dedication of the chryselephantine statue and with the beginning of the Propylaea, and so perhaps marks an entire change in the administration of the Parthenon.

The only fragment of the top of the obverse of the stele is D (*I. G.* I, 300), which appears in the seventh year of Cavaignac's scheme; here the first five lines contain larger letters than the rest, seemingly part of the first annual prescript, though the preserved letters are at the top of column II; this indicates that, as in the Chandler Inscription of the Erechtheum (*I. G.* I, 322) and, as we have good reason to believe, in the stele of the Propylaea, the first annual prescript extended across the entire width of the two double columns. The preserved letters are spaced 0.02 m. on centres; if the total width of the stele be taken as about 1.20 m., on the analogy of that of the Propylaea (cf. p. xxx), we should have space for no more than fifty-eight letters in the longest line (l. 5); the first six lines may then be restored by following the analogy of the first prescript for the Propylaea, observing the *stoichedon* arrangement.

L. 1 — [Παρθενον]ΟΞ is offered merely as a suggestion, the official name of the temple at this period being uncertain.

L. 3 — [Αντ]ΙΚΛΕΞ, Böckh (*Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> II, p. 305); this is rather the name of the first epistates; there is here space for five epistatae, the usual number in the Parthenon, as in the accounts *I. G.* I, 289–296.

It is interesting to note that in this inscription of the summer of 446 B.C. the  $\nu$  and  $\xi$  appear regularly, perhaps for the first

COLUMN I

D [αρχιτεκτονες Καλλικρατες και Ικτινος και επισταται Παρθενον] ΩΞ  
 [εργασιας ἡοις - - - - - εγραμματα ευε - - - - - επι Τιμαρχιδος αρχ] ON  
 [τος Αθηναιοισιν τειβολει - - - - - προτος εγραμματα ευε - - - - -] LEΞ  
 [-----]  
 [----- ἡοις - - - - - χσυνεγραμματα ευε Αφιδ] N A I C  
 [τουτοις λεμματα το ενιαυτο του τοτα δε]

\* \* \*

F ♀ ♀ ♀ (etc., first year)  
 ΕΓΙΤΙ [στριτες αρχες η ει - - - - - εγραμματα ευε]  
 35 ΗΑΛΑΙ [ευστειβολει - - - - - προτος εγραμματα ευε - - - - -]  
 ΞΤΡΑΤ [ο - - - - - ]  
 ΞΑΛΑΜ [ινιος - - - - - ]  
 ΤΙΟΞΚΙ [- - - - - επισταται  
 ΚΑΙ ΗΟ [ις - - - - - χσυνεγραμματα ευε και τοις προτ  
 40 ΡΟΙΞΙ [νεπιστατεσι τουτοις λεμματα το ενιαυτο τα δ  
 ♀ ♀ - - - [παρα τον προτερον επιστατον  
 ♀ ♀ ♀ [χρυσοστατες ερες Λαμφσακενοι  
 ♀ ♀ ♀ [χρυσοστατες ερες Κυζικενοι]

\* \* \*

J — — Γ Λ Ι [α τον προτερον επιστατον]  
 [♀ ♀ ♀] Χ Ρ Υ Ξ [ο στατες ερες Λαμφσακενοι]  
 75 [♀ ♀ ♀ Ξ Ξ Η] Ε Κ Τ Ε Χ Ρ Υ Ξ C < Ι [ατες ερες Κυζικενοι]  
 [♁ M M M] Ι ♁ ♁ Η Η Η Δ Δ Γ Η Η Ε Τ Α Μ Ι Ε Υ Ο Ν Η [οις - - - - - ]  
 Ε Λ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ε Υ [ε - - - - - ]  
 80 [M M M M] Χ Χ ♁ Η ♁ Δ Δ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι Π Α Ρ Α Η Ε Λ Λ Ε [νοταμιον ἡοις]  
 Ξ Τ Ρ Ο Μ Β Ι Χ Γ [σεγραμματα ευε]  
 Χ Ο Λ Λ Ε Ι Δ Γ [ς]  
 Π Α Ρ Α Χ Ξ Ε Λ [ο δικον ἡοις - - - - - ]  
 Ε Λ Ρ Α Μ Μ Λ [τευε - - - - - ]  
 85 [♁ M M M] Χ Γ Α Ρ Λ Τ Ρ [ιεροποιον ἡοις - - - - - ]  
 [- - - - - εγραμματα ευε - - - - - ]  
 [α ν α λ ο μ α τ α ]  
 [ο ν ε μ α τ ο ν ]  
 — — — —  
 — — — —  
 — — — —  
 — — — —

N 90 - - - M - -  
 - - - X - -  
 - - Γ Γ Γ  
 - X X X ♁  
 I M X X X ♁ - -  
 95 ♁ X H H H I - - - [τ] Ω Ξ Ε Γ Ι Ξ ] [α τ ας - -  
 X X X X H I - - - Γ Ε Υ Κ Ι Ν Α Κ [- - -  
 Γ Ε Ρ Ι Ε Λ Ε Ν [ε τοτο ενιαυτο του το  
 ♁ ♀ ♀ Χ Ρ Υ Ξ Ο Ξ Τ Α [τες ερες Λαμφσακενοι  
 ♀ ♀ ♀ [Ξ Ξ Η Ε Κ Τ Ε] Χ Ρ Υ Ξ Ο Ξ Τ Α [τες ερες Κυζικενοι]

100 Ε Γ Ι Τ Ε [σπεμπτες αρχε] Ξ Η Ε Ι Τ Ι Μ Ο Θ Ι [ο σεγραμματα ευε - - - ]  
 [- - -] Ε Υ [στειβολει - - -] Ο Ξ Π Ρ Ο Τ Ο Ξ [εγραμματα ευε - - - - - ]  
 [- - - -] Γ [- - - - -] Ο Ξ Ι Φ Ι Ξ Τ Ι [α δες - - - - - ]  
 [- - - - - επιστατ] \ Ι Η Ο Ι Ξ Α Ν [τικλες χσυνεγραμματα]

]ϸ ≈  
]ON  
]LE ≈

]NAIO ≈

]v ε]  
ε - - - -]  
- - -]  
- - - -]  
α τ α ι]  
ρ ο τ ε]  
τ α δ ε]  
τ ο ν]  
ν ο ι]  
ι]

τ ο ν]  
ν ο ι]  
ι]

- -]

- - - -]

- - -]  
- -]

ο υ τ ο]  
ν ο ι]  
ι]

[- - -]ΕΥ[στειβολει - - -]ΟΞΠΡΟΤΟΞ[εγραμματαευε - - - - -]  
 [- - - -]Γ[- - - - -]ΟΞΙΦΙΞΤΙ[αδες - - - - -]  
 [- - - - -επιστατ]ΙΙΗΟΙΞΑΝ[τικλεςχσυνεγραμματα]  
 105 [ευε - - - - -τουτοις]ΛΕΜΜΑΤΑΤ[οενιαυτοτουτοταδε]  
 ΠΑΡΑΤΟΙ[προτερονεπιστατον]  
 <ΡΥΞΟΞ[-ατερεςαΔμφσακενοι]  
 [χ]ΡΥΞΟΞΤ[ατερεςΚυζικενοι]  
 [π]ΑΡΑΤΑΜ[ιον - - - - -]  
 110 [κ]ΑΙΕΛΒΑ[- - - - -]  
 [π]ΛΡΑΤΑΜ[ιον - - - - -]  
 [λοι]ΞΑΝΔΡ[- - - -εγραμματαευε]  
 [παρ]ΑΗΕΛΙ[ενοταμιονΣοφιαδες]  
 [Ελ]ΕΥΞΙΝΙ[οσεγραμματαευε]  
 115 [π]ΠΡΑΧΞΕ[γοδικον]  
 [π]ΑΡΑΤΕΙΛ[οποιον]  
 (vacat)

BUILDING ACCOUNT OF THE PARTHENON

]

time in regular use<sup>1</sup>; in the spring of the same year  $\nu$  and  $\xi$  had been used in the tribute list (*I.G.* I, 233).

The next prescript, on F (*I.G.* I, 302 *a*), was in ll. 34–40 of column I, separated by a gap of twenty-eight lines from the first annual prescript, as may be calculated by its distance below the top of the stele.<sup>2</sup> This prescript I assign to the third year for the following reasons. We noted that in column I were accounts reaching to the middle of the fifth year. That of the first year occupies exactly as much space (averaging thirty-three lines) as the accounts in columns III and IV, though these contain only three years each; the fragments of the fourth and fifth years seem to be no less voluminous; one of the first years was evidently therefore omitted, unless we are to accept the improbable solution that two annual accounts were very much abbreviated. In l. 40 we read  $\text{POI}\xi\text{I}$ , hitherto uninterpreted, but which may be restored as  $[\text{τοῖς προτέ}]\text{POI}\xi\text{I}[\nu \text{ἐπιστάτεσι}]$ , as if the under-secretary wrote the following accounts both for the epistatae of the current year ( $\text{KAIHO}[\xi\varsigma]$ ), and for those of the year before, *i.e.* for the second and third years. The probability that the omitted year was the second rather than the third is increased by the fact that in the second year came the revolt and campaign in Euboea, which Cavaignac too (*l.c.* pp. 76, 82, 87) supposes to have had some effect on the work. Michaelis had assigned this fragment to a supposed sixteenth annual account (432/1 B.C.), when the work had, however, ceased; Cavaignac, supposing it to be the third rather than the second prescript, accidentally obtained what I believe to be the correct date, the third year.

L. 33 —  $[\text{πρῶτες βολέες}]$ , Cavaignac.

L. 38 —  $[\text{Σφέρ}]\text{TIO}\xi$ , Cavaignac.

L. 40 —  $\text{τοῖτο}$ , omitted for lack of space.

Fragments J (*I.G.* I, 310) and N (Cavaignac, Fig. 20) + I (*I.G.* I, 308), dated by the names of the secretaries for the

<sup>1</sup> They had appeared previously in the tribute list of 449/8 (*I.G.* I, 231), and  $\xi$  in the prescript of 453/2 B.C. (I, 227); cf. Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, I, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered that F was fitted to C, the latter being a piece of the top of the stele.

Hellenotamiae, give almost the complete account of the fourth year, without the prescript. The numbering of the lines is based merely on the average of thirty-three lines for each year.

L. 75 — [ΑΑΑΑΞΞΗ]ΕΚΤΕ, restored from comparison with other years, locates the left edge of the money column.

L. 77 — [ΜΜΜΜ]ΙΡΜΗΗΗΗΔΔΤΤ, made *stoichedon* with l. 75, and with the smallest amount possible; any larger sum would require Τ, which was not used as appears from the trace of the last Μ.

L. 80 — [ΜΜΜΜ]ΧΧΡΗΡΔΔΓΙΙΙΙ, restored for reasons given below.

L. 82 — ΧΞΕΝ[οδίκων], restored by Cavaignac (*l.c.* p. lxvii), identifying them with the *γραφαὶ ξενίας* who were active in this very year (Philochorus, *Frg. Hist. Gr.* p. 398, 90).

L. 84 — ΤΡ[εργοποιῶν], suggested by Meyer, who prefers however Τ[εργοποιῶν] (*Forschungen z. alt. Gesch.* II, pp. 100 n. 3, 104); cf. Andocides, III, 7.

L. 85 — [ΜΜΜΜ]Λ, the only possible restoration, since I read the last figure as Μ, as does Cavaignac in his pl. II; others have read it Δ, as does Cavaignac himself at his p. 87.

L. 95 — [τ]ΟΞΕΓΙΞΙ[άρας], Kirchoff and Michaelis; Cavaignac (*l.c.* p. 88) supposes an allusion to the makers of epistylia, but such specialization seems unwarranted.

L. 96 — ΓΕΥΚΙΝΑΚ[αὶ ἐλάτινα], Cavaignac (*l.c.* p. 88, pl. II).

The most important of the facts revealed by this account is the exact size of the receipt from the Hellenotamiae, obviously a part of the tribute from the Delian confederacy. It was evidently the use of this that caused the controversy between Pericles and Thucydides, and most writers, therefore, as Meyer (*Forschungen*, II, p. 99) and Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 424), suppose it to have been a large amount. But it is noticeable that though the Hellenotamiae appear in the accounts of the fourth, fifth, and ninth years, and probably therefore contributed during the first ten years for the erection of the Parthenon,<sup>1</sup> in the last five years they gave nothing. From 437/6 to 433/2 B.C., we find that they devoted their attention to the Propylaea, and in the accounts of the Propylaea the sum they gave is specified as  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the annual tribute, the ἀπαρχή which

<sup>1</sup> The other seven (six) are so mutilated as to give no information.

was the rightful share of Athena (*I. G.* I, 260).<sup>1</sup> It is practically certain that this was the very sum which had been diverted from the Parthenon, and which had been expended for that building during the first ten years.<sup>2</sup> Since Pericles therefore used only the ἀπαρχέ in his constructions, and not the money in the treasury of the Confederacy, it would appear that the accusations by Thucydides were unfounded, a fact which would perhaps account for the victory of Pericles. With the knowledge that it is a sixtieth of the tribute, the exact amount is easy to determine. Pedroli (in Beloch, *Studi di St. Ant.* 1891, pp. 101–207) estimates that in this Olympiad the total annual tribute amounted to 414 talents 5170 drachmae, while Cavaignac (*l.c.* pp. xlv, 91–92) gives 435 talents; the ἀπαρχέ would have been 41486 $\frac{1}{6}$  or 43500 drachmae, respectively. The nearest possible approach to this in our inscription is [M M M M]XXΠΗϞΔΔΠΙΙΙΙ, 42675 $\frac{5}{8}$  drachmae; all other possible restorations vary so much from a sixtieth of any reasonable tribute as to be certainly wrong;<sup>3</sup> we may then be certain that the total tribute in 444/3 B.C. amounted to 426 talents 4550 drachmae.

The remainder of column I is taken up by the prescript and receipts of the fifth year, fragments N (Cavaignac, Fig. 20) + I (*I. G.* I, 309), as dated by the name of the secretary for the Hellenotamiae; Michaelis had, however, assigned I to about the twelfth year.

L. 101 — [βολέ]Ξ, Kirchhoff and Cavaignac.

Ll. 101–102 — ΤΙΜΟΘ[εος Ἀναφλύστι]ΟΞ, Penndorf, *de Scribis*, p. 132 (cf. p. 60, note 1).

L. 102 — ΜΑΤΕΥ[ε], Cavaignac.

L. 102 — ΠΡΟΤΟ[γένες], Cavaignac.

L. 104 — ΑΝ[τυκλῆς], Kirchhoff (rejected by Cavaignac).

L. 109 — [π]ΑΡΑΤΑΝ[λὸν τὸν τέσ θεῶ], Cavaignac.

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, to be sure, suggests that the sum given for the Propylaea was not the ἀπαρχέ but a second sixtieth (*Masterpieces*, p. 424; cf. Busolt, II, p. 568).

<sup>2</sup> Meyer's conjecture that the Hellenotamiae gave money for the Parthenon, for the buildings of the lower city, and for those at Eleusis (for all these except the Parthenon we have no evidence), at the same time that they gave the sixtieth for the Propylaea, is disproved by my dating of fragments of the accounts for the Parthenon.

<sup>3</sup> The nearest are [M M M ΠϞ] or [ΠϞXX], *i.e.* 37675 $\frac{5}{8}$  or 59675 $\frac{5}{8}$  dr.

L. 110 — ΕΛΒΑ . . , a form of ἐγβαίνο, Cavaignac (*l.c.* p. lxxvii).

L. 115 — ΧΞΕ[νοδίκων], Cavaignac.

L. 116 — ΤΕΙΧ[σοιοῶν], Meyer (*l.c.* pp. 100 n. 3, 103); cf. Andocides, III, 7, and Plutarch, *de glor. Ath.* 8, *Pericles*, 13; Callicrates was at the head of these epistatae as well as of those of the Parthenon.

The expenses of the same year appear at the top of column II, just below the first annual prescript, on D + E (*I.G.* I, 300). This and the following fragments of Column II are so fragmentary that they are printed here with little attempt at restoration.

	α	ν	α	λ	ο	μ	α	τ	α	
										Ν Τ Ι
										— Ο Ν
10										
		*				*		*		
										— Ε Γ Τ Ε
										Τ Ο Ξ
20										
										Ο Τ Ι Μ Ε
										τ ι ] \ Ε Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο
		*				*		*		

L. 8 — [ἐργολαβέσα] ΝΤΙ or similar, Cavaignac (*l.c.* p. lii).

L. 17 — ΕΓΤΕ, Cavaignac.

L. 21 — [τούτον] ΤΙΜΕ, Cavaignac.

Of the sixth year, we have only a few letters of the receipts, some appearing on A (*I.G.* I, 220), which we have joined to E, others on G (*I.G.* I, 305) which, as will appear from the reverse (ninth year), falls in this position.

	*	*	*	
30				Ν Τ Ε Ν
				— Ε Ο Ν
				— Ι Ε Ι
				— Ι
				— Δ Γ
35				
	Γ	λ	[ρ α	— — —
	Γ	—	—	—
	Λ	—	—	—
	Ο	—	—	—
	Α Ν Α Λ	[ο	μ α τ α]	
	*	*	*	



ninth year. The last line is given by fragment G (*I. G.* I, 303), which is discussed below.

L. 7 — TE[*ιθράσιος*], the only possible demotic, if the line begins with a demotic.

L. 21 — E[*λέφας έονέθε*], Cavaignac; confirmed by the traces of L and E; cf. *I. G.* I, 298, suppl. p. 146.

L. 24 — probably work on the ceiling and roof, continued from the previous year.

L. 29 — perhaps for the painted decoration of mouldings, but more probably, when taken into connection with ll. 21–22, 30–31, for the pedestal of the Athena Parthenos, which contained decorations in ivory and gilded silver (*I. G.* II, 652 B, 15; 654 b, 6; 660, 52; 661, 22; 676, 40; 701 II, 60; 703, 10), and must have been finished along with the statue itself in this same year (cf. the account of the ninth year).

Ll. 30–31 — this work in silver might, like the ivory in ll. 21–22 (cf. the accounts of the temple of Aesclepius at Epidaurus, Baunack, *Aus Epidaurus*, ll. 64–65), appear to be part of the decoration of the doorways (*I. G.* II, 675, 4; 678 A, I, 29; 701 II, 47; 704; 708), were it not that the doorways are not mentioned until the tenth year.

L. 33 — possibly [*ην*]  $\Gamma \cap \rho$  [*γούς*].

For the ninth year almost the complete record is preserved. Fragment H we have fitted accurately to the bottom of E; it contains the beginning of a prescript, in ll. 38–41 according to the distance below the top of the stele; the line above this was blank, wherefore the eighth year must have ended in l. 36. Bannier had correctly suggested (*Rh. Mus.* 1908, p. 429) that B and G be associated on account of their contents; he is followed by Cavaignac, but Woodward remains unconvinced (*l.c.* p. 195, n. 1); there is no actual point of contact. The date is given by the fact that, although this pair of fragments is certainly from the reverse, the demotic of the secretary for the Hellenotamiae in G (*I. G.* I, 305) is [*Ραμ*]NOΞIO[*ς*] or [*Ηαγ*]NOΞIO[*ς*],<sup>1</sup> which can belong to none of the years of the reverse except the ninth; the demotics of these secretaries for the five other years are known, the eighth *Ηυβάδες* (*I. G.* I, 240), the tenth *Ἀχαρνεύς* (I, 242), the eleventh *Κεραμεύς* (I, 243), the twelfth *Αίχσορευς* (I, 244, 544), the thirteenth *Ἀχαρνεύς* (I,

<sup>1</sup> Hitherto wrongly restored [*Μυρρι*]NOΞIO[*ς*], for which there is not space.

COLUMN III

D Ε [ π ι τ ε ς ο γ δ ο ε ς α ρ χ ε ς ἡ ε ι - - - - - ε γ ρ α μ μ α τ ε υ ε - - ]  
 5 Φ [ - - - - - τ ε ι β ο λ ε ι - - - - - π ρ ο τ ο ς ε γ ρ α μ μ α τ ε υ ε - - ]  
 X / [ - - - - - ]  
 TE [ ι θ ρ α σ ι ο ς ε π ι σ τ α τ α ι ἡ ο ι ς Ἀ ν τ ι κ λ ε ς χ σ υ ν ε γ ρ α μ μ α τ  
 TO [ υ τ ο ι ς λ ε μ μ α τ α τ ο ε ν ι α υ τ ο τ ο υ τ ο τ α δ ε ]  
 ♠ ♠ [ - - - ] [ π α ρ α τ ο ν π ρ ο τ ε ρ ο ν ε π ι σ τ α τ ο ν ]  
 10 [ ♠ ♠ ] [ χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε ς Λ α μ φ σ α κ ε ν ο ι ]  
 ♠ ♠ [ ♠ ] [ χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε ς Κ υ ζ ι κ ε ν ο ι ]

MM [ - - ]

15 MM [ - - ]

\* \* \*

20 [ α ν α λ ο μ α τ α ]  
 L Ε Λ Λ [ φ α ς ε ο ν ε θ ε σ τ α θ μ ο ν - - - - - ]  
 T I M E T O Y T [ ο ]  
 T O N A Λ Λ O N O [ ν ε μ α τ ο ν ]  
 X Ξ Y Λ O P Λ I A Ξ  
 25 Λ I Θ O T O M O I Ξ Γ I [ ν τ λ ε θ ε ν ]  
 Λ I Θ A Λ O Λ I A Ξ Γ I [ ν τ λ ε θ ε ν ]  
 Λ I Θ O Λ K I A Ξ Γ P O [ ς τ α ε ρ γ α σ τ ε ρ ι ι ]  
 [ λ ] I Θ O P [ γ ι ] A Ξ K A I - - -  
 X P Y Ξ O X O I Ξ M I Ξ [ θ ο ς ]  
 30 - \ E P Λ A T A A P Λ \ [ ρ α  
 - ] E X E I A P Λ Y P I [ ο  
 μ ] I Ξ O M A T O N [ ν  
 - - Γ O - - - ]  
 [ π ε ρ ι ε γ ε ν ἔ τ ο τ ο ε ν ι α υ τ ο τ ο υ τ ο ]  
 35 [ χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε ς Λ α μ φ σ α κ ε ν ο ι ]  
 [ χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ] E Ξ K Y Ξ I [ κ ε ν ο ι ]

G  
 H Ε Π I [ τ ε ς ε ν α τ ε ς α ρ χ ε ς ἡ ε ι Δ ι ο ν υ σ ι ] Φ I Λ O Ξ Ε Λ Ρ [ α μ μ α τ ε υ ε ]  
 Γ Ρ O F [ α λ ι σ ι ο ς τ ε ι β ο λ ε ι - - - - - π ρ ο ] T O Ξ Ε Λ Ρ A [ μ μ α τ ε υ ε ]  
 40 Ε Λ Ρ [ ε μ ο ς (?) - - - - - ] - - - - - Λ Ε Ξ I A Ξ T [ - - - - - ]  
 X Ξ Y [ - - - - - ] - - - - - ' Δ Ε Ξ Η Α Λ [ α ι ε ν ς ]  
 [ ε π ι σ τ α τ α ι ἡ ο ι ς Ἀ ν τ ι κ λ ε ς χ σ υ ν ε γ ρ ] A M M A T E Y [ ε ]  
 [ τ ο υ τ ο ι ς λ ε μ μ α τ α τ ο ε ν ι α υ τ ο τ ο υ τ ο τ ] A Δ Ε  
 [ π α ρ α τ ο ν π ρ ο τ ] E P O N E P I [ σ τ α τ ο ν ]  
 45 [ ♠ ♠ ♠ ] [ χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε ] Ξ Λ A M Φ [ σ α κ ε ν ο ι ]  
 [ ♠ ♠ ] [ ♠ ] [ χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε ] Ξ K Y Ξ I K [ ε ν ο ι ]  
 [ π α ρ α ἡ ε λ λ ε ν ο τ α ] M I O N H [ ο ι ς - - - - ]  
 [ ε γ ρ α μ μ α τ ε υ ε Ρ α μ ] N O Ξ I O [ ς ]  
 [ α ρ γ υ ρ ι ο π ρ α θ ε ν τ ο ] < T I / [ ε τ ο υ τ ο ]  
 [ - - - - - σ τ α θ μ ] J N P [ - - - ]

B  
 50 [ ρ υ σ ι ο π ρ α θ ε ν τ ο ς ς ] Γ A O / [ ο ν - - - - ]  
 T I M E [ τ ο υ τ ο ]  
 X Ξ Y Λ O N [ π ρ α θ ε ν τ ο ] I T I N [ ε τ ο υ τ ο ν ]  
 Γ A P E Y Φ E P [ ο - - - - - ] I Ξ  
 55 Π A P A Ξ A Y P O N C [ ς - - - - ]

[ α ν α λ ] ) M A T A  
 [ ο ] N E M A T O N  
 [ μ ι ] Ξ O M A T O N  
 [ λ ι θ ο ] T O M O I Ξ Γ E N T E [ λ ε θ ε ν π ε λ ε κ ε τ ]  
 60 [ τ ο ν λ ] I Θ O N T O N E Ξ T A [ ε ν α ι ε τ ι α ]  
 [ ἡ ο δ ο π ο ι ] O I Ξ K A I Λ I O [ ο ς α ν α τ ι θ ε σ ]  
 [ ε π ι τ α κ υ κ λ α τ ο ] Ξ E Ξ T A [ ε ν α ι ε τ ι α ]  
 [ λ ι θ α ρ ο ν ι ς ς π ] E N T E I I [ θ ε ν ]

v ε - -]  
v ε - - -]  
- - - - -]  
μ μ α τ ε υ ε]

υ ν]  
υ ι]

- - -]

ρ ι α]

υ τ ο]  
υ ι]

ε υ ε]  
υ ε]  
- -]  
]

ο ν]  
ο ι]  
]

-----

υ τ ο]  
-  
-----

υ τ ο ν]

λ ε κ ε τ ε σ ι]  
α]  
ι θ ε σ ι]  
τ ι α]

60

[τ ο ν λ]Ι Ο Ο Ν Ι Ο Ν Ε Κ Ι Α [ε ν α ι ε τ ι α]  
[λ ο δ ο π ο ι]Ο Ι Ξ Κ Α Ι Λ Ι Ο [ο σ α ν α τ ι θ ε σ]  
[ε π ι τ α κ υ κ λ α τ ο]Ξ Ε Ξ Τ Α [ε ν α ι ε τ ι α]  
[λ ι θ α γ ο γ ι α ς Π] Ε Ν Τ Ε Λ Λ [θ ε ν]  
[λ ι θ ο λ κ ι α ς ε ς] Α Ε Ρ Λ Α [σ τ ε ρ ι α]  
[α γ α λ μ α τ ο π ο ι ο ι] Ε Ν Ι [ι ε τ ι ο ν μ ι ο]

65

\* \* \*

K

95

[μ ι σ]Ο Ο Ι Ι Α Ι [ο ν]  
[τ ο]Ι Ξ Ο Υ Ρ Ο Μ Α Ξ Ι [- - -]  
[- -] Ξ Κ Α Ι Τ Ε Ξ Η Ι Ε Ρ [α ς - -]  
[- - -] Ξ Κ Ε Υ Ε Ξ Κ Α Ι Η Ο [- -]  
[κ α τ]Α Μ Ε Ν Ι Ο Ν  
[π ε ρ ι]Ε Λ Ε Ν Ε Τ Ο Τ Ο Ε Ι [ι α υ τ ο τ ο υ  
[χ ρ υ σ]Ο Ξ Τ Α Τ Ε Ρ Ε Ξ Λ Α Μ [φ σ α κ ε ν ο  
[χ ρ υ σ]Ο Ξ Τ Α Τ Ε Ρ Ε Ξ Κ Υ Η Ξ [κ ε ν ο ι]

100

[⊕ ⊕ ⊕]  
[⊕ ⊕ ⊕] Ξ Ξ Η Ε Κ Τ Ε ]

BUILDING ACCOUNT OF THE PARTHENON

α]  
ι θ ε σ ι]  
τ ι α]

ι α]  
ο ν μ ι σ θ ο ς]

ο τ ο υ τ ο]  
κ ε ν ο ι]  
ν ο ι]

316).<sup>1</sup> The connection of H and G to form the prescript has already been discussed, and confirms the location of these fragments in the ninth year.<sup>2</sup> The ninth annual account was composed therefore of H (*I.G.* I, 306), G (I, 305), and B (I, 297 a).

L. 38 — [Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡέι], Kirchhoff.

L. 38 — [Ἐπιονσι]ΦΙΛΟΞ, rests only on the amount of space to be filled; [Ἀριστό]ΦΙΛΟΞ restored here by Cavaignac.

L. 39 — ΠΡΟ[τος] hitherto restored, but B exists as the fourth letter.

L. 40 — ΕΛΡ[αμμάτευε], the usual restoration, is impossible after the same word at the end of the preceding line; it must be some proper name.

L. 41 — ΧΞΥ[πεταόν], Cavaignac; this does not seem the proper place for a demotic.

L. 42 — [— φίλος ἔργ], Kirchhoff; [Ἀριστόφιλος ἔργ], Cavaignac.

L. 48 — [Μυρρι]ΝΟΞΙΟ[ς], Kirchhoff, as discussed above.

L. 49 — [ἀργυρίο παραέντο]Ξ, restored because the number of letter spaces fits, and because the weight is omitted, as it should be in the case of unwrought silver.

L. 50 — [παραέντ]ΟΝΠ, Cavaignac; perhaps [σταθμ]ΟΝΠ might be better.

L. 51 — ι [ρυσίο]; Cavaignac saw here a trace rather of E.

L. 53 — ΧΞΥΛΟΝ[παραέντο]Ι, Bannier; this was evidently surplus wood left from building the ceiling and roof in the two preceding years.

L. 54 — ΕΥΦΕΡ[ο], probably the father of Πρέπης (Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 843; *I.G.* I, 225 k, suppl. p. 174; *Ath. Mitt.* 1894, p. 163).

L. 55 — ΞΑΥΡΟΝC [ς], who contributed also to the Propylaea in 437/6 B.C.

L. 59 — ΠΕΝΤΕ[λῆθεν καὶ κ.τ.λ.], Kirchhoff; the καὶ I omit because of lack of space.

L. 61 — [ἡδοσοι]ΟΙΞ, Woodward (*l.c.* p. 191, n. 3), who, like Liddell

<sup>1</sup> For the two last see the discussions of the Propylaea accounts of the corresponding years.

<sup>2</sup> Bannier (*Rh. Mus.* 1908, p. 429 n. 2) had proposed that G and B be placed below C, which conflicts, however, with my junction of C and F. Cavaignac (*l.c.* p. lix) rightly dated G and B in the ninth year by elimination, but rather accidentally, since he supposed that the secretary's demotic in the twelfth year was ἐκ τῶ . . . . (*I.G.* I, 244; really *Αἰχσορεύς*, cf. the Propylaea stele, col. I, l. 63), and that the thirteenth year was on a narrow edge. Woodward would assign B to either the tenth or the thirteenth year.

and Scott, cites Xenophon, *Cyr.* VI, 2, 36 and Aeschines, 57, 27; a better analogy is the speech of Pericles (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 12), mentioning the employment of ὄδοποιοί on this very building; cf. *I.G.* II, 834 c, 28, also Francotte, *L'industrie dans la Grèce ancienne* (II, p. 86), and Ferguson (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1904, p. 17).

L. 62 — [ἐπὶ τὰ κύκλα], Woodward (*l.c.* 191–192); previous restorations were ἐπὶ τὸς ὄνος (*I.G.* I, 297 b) or ἐπὶ τὰ ἠνποζύγια (I, 297 a).

L. 63 — [τὸς ἡέκοντας Π]ENTEΛ L[θευ] in previous readings.

L. 65 — restored by Woodward (*l.c.* p. 192).

The selling of gold and silver, to which ivory was added at least as early as 437/6 B.C., began in this ninth year (439/8) and continued until the close of the work. These materials were sold in such large quantities (cf. the fourteenth year) that they cannot have come merely from the pedestal of the chryselephantine statue; the epistatae of the Athena Parthenos must have turned over to the treasury of the Parthenon the surplus material remaining after the completion of the statue. We may be certain, therefore, of the correctness of the generally received view, which makes the date given by the chronographers (Eusebius Armen. 440/39 B.C., Hieronymus 439/8, Philochorus 438/7) that of the completion of the statue, and not of its inception, as Pareti would prefer (*Röm. Mitt.* 1909, p. 271 f.). The evidence seems to show merely that the actual work at least was finished in 439, though the dedication may have been postponed to the Panathenaic festival of 438 B.C.<sup>1</sup> In this same

<sup>1</sup>In the dilapidated condition of the Geneva Papyrus (Nicole, *Le procès de Phidias*), little reliance can be placed on Nicole's and Pareti's rival readings of what are supposed to be archons' names, Μο[ρ]υχίδου = [Ἰ]ντ[ι]οχίδου, and [Ἐἰθυ](μ)ένου = [Ἰ]ψε[ύ]δου. From these Nicole attempts to show that the statue was not quite finished even in 438/7. Pareti is even more revolutionary and would place all the work on the statue between 439 and 434, but his evidence (*l.c.* p. 278) is really adverse to his theory; the sale of wood in the ninth year is hardly the surplus left from the frame of the statue, which would have been a petty amount, but rather that left from the ceiling and roof constructed in the seventh and eighth years; the sale of surplus gold and ivory does not begin in 434/3, for gold was first sold in the ninth year (439/8), ivory perhaps in the tenth and certainly in the eleventh (437/6), when according to Pareti's view the epistatae should really have bought gold and ivory. The actual expense accounts of the statue (*I.G.* I, 298 and suppl. p. 146, I, 299, 299 a, and 556), which might be expected to settle the matter, unfortunately cannot be dated; they are probably of the years between 443/2 and 439/8 B.C. They include receipts from the treasurers of Athena, who in 443/2 ceased to contribute to the Parthenon.

year, 439/8, the completion of the statue was succeeded by the beginning of the pediment sculptures.<sup>1</sup> In this sequence of events there is nothing opposed to the generally accepted view that the supervision exercised by Phidias over the buildings of Pericles was concerned chiefly with their sculptured decoration. The bringing of marble from the Pentelic quarries to the Ergasteria on the Acropolis,<sup>2</sup> in the last year of work on the statue, but before the pediment sculptures had been begun (eighth year, l. 27), would seem to favor the interpretation that Phidias intended to turn from one to the other. Against attributing the pediment sculptures to Phidias, now that they must be dated after 439, is the badly contaminated passage from Philochorus (Schol. Aristophanes, *Pax*, 605), a vague reference in Seneca (VIII, 2), and Nicole's dubious interpretation of the Geneva Papyrus (now refuted by an equally dubious interpretation by Pareti). In favor of placing the work on the Olympian Zeus before that on the Athena Parthenos, so that Phidias could have been in Athens from 439 to 432, is the earlier date of the Temple at Olympia, the evidence for placing the trial just before the Peloponnesian War (Aristophanes, *Pax*, 605; Diodorus, XII, 39-41; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31; Pseudo-Aristodemus, XVI, 1; Suidas, *s.v.* Φειδίας), and the sequence of events in the Parthenon inscriptions. The second alternative seems to me the better; and I still believe that the pediment sculptures, dating from 439/8 to 433/2 B.C., were done under the direct supervision of Phidias himself.<sup>3</sup>

Of the tenth year we have only the end, preserved on fragment K (*I. G.* I, 311),<sup>4</sup> assigned to this position because the ends of the eighth, eleventh, and twelfth years are preserved on other fragments, while the entry *μισθομάτου* for the ninth

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Woodward places the fragment B (I, 297 *a*), which reveals this fact, in the tenth or thirteenth year, making the first year of work on the pediments the tenth or eleventh of the series, on the principle that if the work began in the ninth year it would last too long, at least six years (*l.c.* p. 195). It actually did last six years, if not seven.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the word Ergasteria in the following years shows plainly that they were the sculptors' workshops.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Woodward, to whom the discovery of the payments to the *ἀγαλαμοποιοί* is due, accepts Nicole's dates and concludes that the sculptors received "little or no assistance from Phidias himself" (*l.c.* p. 198).

<sup>4</sup> Dated by Cavaignac as of the first year.

year appears on B, and because if K were placed in the thirteenth year at the end of column IV it would appear, to avoid colliding with fragment I, too high above the bottom of the stele.

L. 95—these doors, evidently of the naos, Cavaignac supposes to have been those of a workshop or temporary gates of the Acropolis.

L. 96—HIEP[*ās oikías*], Michaelis, on the analogy of the wrongly identified fragment *I.G.* I, 312–313.

L. 97—[*έπι*]ΞKEYEΞ, Bannier.

L. 98—the salaries of the epistatae and their secretary, cf. col. V, l. 38.

The record of the eleventh year, at the top of column IV, can be almost completely restored from C + O + P (*I.G.* I, 297 *b*, Cavaignac, Fig. 26, *B.S.A.* 1909–1910, p. 187), as joined by Woodward and Cavaignac, and identified by the name of the first secretary of the senate, Peithiades.

L. 1—ANI[*ικλές Ὀέθεν* ?] EAPAM, Woodward (*l.c.* p. 188).

L. 3—[*μμάτευεν ἐπὶ Εὐθυμέν*] OΞ, Woodward.

L. 9—restored according to the number of missing letters, this is the first recorded sale of ivory.

L. 13—a sale of the wooden wheels used for transporting marble; the last two words read by Cavaignac.

L. 15—[*κα*]ΤΤΙΤΕΡΑ, Cavaignac; but the final O is plainly to be seen in his Fig. 26; this is probably the surplus of what was used for the trappings and decorations of the Panathenaic frieze.

The beginning of the twelfth year appears on F (*I.G.* I, 300 *a*), which joins C. The fragment Q (*B.S.A.* 1909–1910, p. 190) was correctly dated by Woodward (*l.c.* pp. 194–196) as of the twelfth year with the beginning of the thirteenth, though on the basis of a hypothesis which does not exclude the eighth and ninth years or the ninth and tenth; I therefore note that my location of G and B confines Q to the twelfth and thirteenth years. The numbering of the lines on F is made certain by the junction to C; the fragment Q is located by allowing to the twelfth year the average thirty-three lines.

L. 34—the unusually long space for the name of the first secretary of the senate is confirmed by a similar long gap in the Propylaea record of this year.

COLUMN IV

P [τ ο ι σ ε π ι σ τ α τ ε σ ι ἡ] Ω Ι Ξ Α Ν Ι [ι κ κ λ ε σ χ σ υ] Ι Ε Λ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ε [ν ε]
 O [ε π ι τ ε σ ἡ ε ν δ ε κ α τ ε] Ξ Β Ο Λ Ε Ξ Η Ε Ι Ι [ε] Ι Θ Ι Α Δ Ε Ξ Γ Ρ Ο Τ Ο Ξ Ε [γ ρ]
 [μ α τ ε ν ε ν ε π ε υ θ υ μ ε] Ι Ο Ξ Α Ρ Χ Ο Ν [ ] Ξ Α Θ Ε Ν Α Ι Ο Ι Ξ Ι Ν
 [λ ε μ μ α τ α τ ο ε ν ι α υ τ ο] Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο [ ] Δ Ε

5

[ ]

[ ] Ξ Ξ Η Ε Κ Τ Ε ]

10

15

C 20

25

30

F

35

[ ]

[ ] Ξ Ξ Η Ε Κ Τ Ε ]

Q

60

[ ]

[ ] Ξ Ξ Η Ε Κ Τ Ε ]

[π ε ρ ι γ ε] Ν Ο Μ Ε Ν Ο Μ Μ Ε Ν Ε Κ Τ Ε Ξ
 [π ρ ο τ ε ρ α] Ξ Α Ρ Χ Ε Ξ
 [χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ] Α Τ Ε Ρ Ε Ξ Λ Α Μ Φ Ξ Α Κ Ε Ν Ο Ι
 [χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α] Τ Φ Ρ Φ Ξ Κ Υ Ξ Ι Κ Ε Ν Ο Ι
 [ε λ ε φ α ν τ ο σ π ρ α θ ε] Ι Τ Ο Ξ
 [σ τ α θ μ ο ν - - - - -] Τ Ι Μ Ε Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο
 - -] Α Β Ο Ν Ε Ξ Τ Α Ε Ρ Α
 [σ τ ε ρ ι α - - - - -] Ο Ν Τ Ο Ξ
 [χ σ υ λ ο ν π ρ α θ ε ν τ ο ν τ ρ] Ο Χ Ο Ν Κ Υ Κ Λ Ι Α Ι Ο
 [τ ι μ ε τ ο υ τ ο ν]
 [- - - - - κ α] Τ Τ Ι Τ Ε Ρ Ο Ι Ι Μ
 [- - -
 [α ν α λ ο μ α τ α]
 [ο ν ε μ α τ ο ν]
 [μ ι σ θ ο μ α τ ο ν]
 [λ ι θ ο τ ο μ ο ι] Ξ Γ Ε Ν Τ Ε Λ Ε Θ Ε Ν Κ Α Ι Ρ Ε Λ Ε
 [ε τ ε σ ι τ ο ν λ] Ι Θ Ο Ν [τ] Ο Ν Ε Ξ Τ Α Ε Ν Α Ι Ε Τ Ι Α
 [ἡ ο δ ο π ο ι ο ι] Ξ Κ Α Ι Ι [ ] Ο < Α Ν Α Τ Ι Θ Ε Ξ Ι Ε Γ
 [τ α κ υ κ λ α Π ε] Ν Τ Ε [ε] Ξ Ι Τ Ο Ξ [ε] Ξ Τ Α Ε Ν Α Ι Ε Τ
 [λ ι θ α γ ο γ ι α] Ξ Γ Γ Ν Τ Ε Λ Ε Θ Ε Ι
 [λ ι θ ο λ κ ι α σ] Ξ Τ Α Ε Ρ Λ Α Ξ Τ Ε [ρ] Ι Α
 [- - - Γ Ο ρ
 [α γ α λ μ α τ ο π ο ι ο ι σ ε ν α ι ε τ] Ι [ν] Μ Ι Ξ Θ Ο Ξ
 [καταμενιον]
 [περιεγενετοτοε ν ι α υ τ ο] Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο
 [χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε σ Δ α μ φ σ α κ ε] Ν Ο Ι
 [χ ρ υ σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε σ Κ υ ζ ι κ ε ν] Ο Ι
 [ ]
 [ ] Ε Ν Δ Α
 \* \* \*
 [λ ι θ ο τ] Ο Ν [ο ι σ - - -
 [λ ι θ α] Λ Ο Λ Ι Α [ς Π ε ν τ ε λ ε θ ε ν - - -
 [ἡ ο δ ο] Γ Ρ Ο Ι Ο Ι [ ] [κα ι τ] Ο Λ Λ ι Θ Ο [ς α ν α τ ι θ ε σ ι
 [ε π ι τ] Α Κ Υ Κ Λ Α [Π ε ν τ ε λ] Ε Ξ Ι Τ Ο Ξ [ε σ τ α ε ν α ι
 [λ ι θ ο λ] Κ Ι Α Ξ Ε Ξ Τ Α Ε Ρ Λ Α Ξ Τ Ε Ρ Ι Α
 [α γ α λ] Ι Λ Τ Ο Γ [ ] Ι Ο Ι Ξ Ε Ν Α Ι Ε Τ Ι Ο [ν μ ι σ θ ο σ]
 [καταμενιον]
 [περιε] Λ Ε [ν ε τ ο] Τ Ο Ε Ν Ι Α Υ [ ] [ο τ ο υ τ ο]
 [χ ρ υ σ ο] Ξ Τ / [τ ε ρ] Ε Ξ Λ Α Μ [φ σ α κ ε ν ο ι]
 [ ] [ ] Α Τ Ι Ρ Ε Ξ Κ Υ Ξ Ι Κ Ε Ν Ο Ι

(1913) PLATE IV

[ v ε ]  
E [ γ ρ α μ ]

Ο  
Ε Ρ Λ Α  
Λ Ι Α Ι Ο Ν  
ι ι Μ Ε

Ε Λ Ε Κ  
Ξ Τ Ι Α  
Ξ Ι Ε Ρ Ι  
Α Ι Ε Τ Ι Α

Ξ Ο Ο Ξ

Τ Ο  
Ι

] Ε Ξ [ δ ο δ ε ]  
Τ Ε Υ [ ε ε π ι ]  
Τ Ο Τ Α [ δ ε ]  
Υ Τ Ο

] Ε Ν Δ Α Ι Ο Ξ

θ ε σ ι ]  
ε ν α ι ε τ ι α ]

θ ο ς ]



ι τ ε ς ]  
ρ ε υ ε ε π ]  
ρ ο τ α δ ε ]

| Ο Ξ

L. 35 — [ἐνιαυτῶ το]ΥΤΟ ΤΑ[δε], Foucart and Cavaignac.

L. 56 — [λιθαγ]ΟΛ[ίας], Woodward.

L. 58 — [τ]ΟΛ Λ|Ο[ν], Woodward implies that only one stone was transported in this year, and that the plural ΤΟΞ in the next line is therefore a mistake; it is better to suppose that τὸς λίθος was intended as in other years, and that the mistake lay in cutting Λ twice.

L. 62 — omitted by Woodward.

L. 63 — [ρούτο ράδε], Woodward.

The first line of the thirteenth year appears on the same fragment Q, as was recognized by Woodward. Here too must come the reverse of Cavaignac's smaller fragment N, the obverse of which belongs in the fourth and fifth years; it contains only two letters, ΟΞ, perfectly preserved as when the chisel left them, so that it is difficult to comprehend Cavaignac's inability to find them a second time (*l.c.* p. lx, n. 2), and his representation of them as one above the other. These two letters appear at the level of l. 96 of column I, and so 0.43 m. above the bottom of the stele; the last certain line above this is l. 39, opposite l. 35 of the obverse; the restoration of the obverse requires sixty-one lines in the gap, equivalent to sixty-seven of the more closely spaced lines of the reverse, so that the two letters ΟΞ would have appeared in l. 106.

L. 67 — the choice of formulae allowed here by Woodward (*l.c.* p. 193) is impossible; we must restore that of the five last years.

L. 67 — [· · ·]ΟΞ, Woodward, but a vertical hasta, as of E, appears on the stone.

L. 106 — the length of the line is evidence for the restoration proposed.

On the analogy of the eleventh and twelfth years, we should restore four more lines after this entry, making 110 lines in all, with the account ending 0.37 m. above the bottom of the stele.

Evidently the work was now nearly finished, and therefore, though both sides of the stele had been filled, it was not deemed necessary to set up a second stele. The edges, hitherto probably left rough as they still remain in the Propylaea stele, were worked smooth and formed additional space for the accounts. That of the fourteenth year, inscribed on the right

edge (with reference to the obverse), is now complete, beginning on fragments D + E (*I.G.* I, 301), and continued on A (*I.G.* I, 221) and H (*I.* 307), which I fitted side by side to the bottom of E.

	Ι Ο Ι	Ξ Ε Ρ Ι	< Ι Α Τ Ε	Ξ Ι Η Ο Ι	Ξ
	Α Ν Τ Ι Κ	Λ Ε Ξ Ε Λ	Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ε	Υ [ε]	
	— Ρ Ι Τ Ε	Ξ Τ Ε Τ Α Ρ Τ Ε	Ξ Κ Α Ι Δ Ε		
	Κ Α Τ Ε	Ξ Β Ο Λ Ε	Ξ Η Ε Ι Μ Ε Τ Α		
5	Λ Ε Ν Ε	Ξ Ρ Ρ Ο Τ Ο	Ξ Ε Λ Ρ Α Μ Μ		
	Α Τ Ε Υ Ε Ε	Ρ Ι Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε	Τ Ο Ξ Α Ρ Χ		
	Ο Ν Τ Ο	Ξ Α Θ Ε Ν Α Ι Ο Ι	Ξ Ι Ν		
	Υ Ε Μ Μ Α Τ Α	Τ Ο Ε Ν Ι Α Υ Τ Ο			
	Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο	Τ Α Δ Ε			
10	Χ Η Η Η	Ρ Ε Ρ Ι Λ Ε Ν Ο Μ Ε Ν Ο Μ			
	Η ρ Δ Δ	Μ Ε Ν Ε Κ Τ Ο Ρ Ρ Ο Τ Ε Ρ C			
		Ε Ν Ι Α Υ Τ Ο			
	Γ Δ Δ	— > Ρ υ <	Ο Ξ Τ Α Τ Ε Ρ Ε Ξ		
		[Λ α μ φ σ]	Α Κ Ε Ν Ο Ι		
15	Δ Δ ρ Ξ Ξ	[χ ρ υ σ ο]	< Τ Α Τ Ε Ρ Ε Ξ		
	Η Ε Κ Τ Ε :	Κ [υ ζ ι κ ε ν ο]	Ι		
		Π Α Ρ Α [τ α μ ι]	Ο Ν [η ο ι τ α]		
	Μ Μ ρ :	Τ Ε Ξ Θ Ε Ο [ε τ]	Α Μ Ι Ε Υ [ο ν]		
		Η Ο Ι Ξ Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε	Ξ Ε Λ Ρ [α]		
20		Μ Μ Α Τ Ε Υ Ε	Λ Α Μ Ρ Τ Ρ [ε υ σ]		
	Χ Η Η Η	Χ Ρ Υ Ξ Ι Ο Ρ Ρ Α Θ Ε	[ν τ ο σ]		
	□ Δ Δ Ϛ Ϛ	Ξ Τ Α Θ Μ Ο Ν ρ Δ Δ Δ	[Δ Ϛ Ϛ Ϛ]		
		Τ Ι Μ Ε Τ Ο Υ Τ Ο			
	Χ Η Η Η	Ε Λ Ε Φ Α Ν Τ Ο	Ξ [π ρ α] Θ [ε ν]		
25	Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι	Τ Ο Ξ Ξ Τ Α Θ Μ Ο	[ν] Τ Τ (?)		
		ρ Δ :	Τ Ι Μ Ε Τ [ο υ τ ο]		
		Α Ν Α	Λ Ο Μ Α Τ Α		
	- - - Η Η	Ο Ν Ε Μ Α Τ Ϛ	[ν]		
	- - - - Λ Ϛ Ι				
30	- - - -	Μ Ι Ξ Θ Ο	Λ [α τ ο ν]		
	- - - -				
	Χ , - - -	[η] Υ Ρ Ο Ρ	[γ ο ι σ Η ε ν τ ε λ ε]		

	H H L [Δ]	[σ ι κ α ι λ ι θ ο ς α ν α τ ι θ ]			
	Π Ϛ Ι Ι	L [σ ι ε π ι τ α κ ν κ λ α ]			
35	M Ϛ Χ Η Η	Α Λ [α λ μ α τ ο π ο ]		Ο	
	Η Ϛ Δ Δ Δ	Ε Ν Α [ι ε τ ι ο ν μ ι ]	ξ	⊙	Ο
	Δ Ϛ Ϛ				
	[X] Ϛ Η Η Η	Κ Α Τ Α Μ [ε ν ι ο ]		ξ	(?)
	- - - -	[π ε ρ ]		Ε	Ϛ Ο
40	- - - -	[τ ο ε ν ι α ν τ ]	∩	Τ	Ο ∨ [τ ο ]
	[Ϛ Ϛ Ϛ]	[χ ρ ν σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε ς ]			
		[Λ α μ φ σ α κ ε ν ο ι ]			
	[Ϛ Ϛ Ϛ Ϛ]	[χ ρ ν σ ο σ τ α τ ε ρ ε ς ]			
	[H E K T E]	[K ν ζ ι κ ε ν ο ι ]			

L. 17—the treasurers of Athena, having devoted their attention exclusively to the statue of Athena between 443/2 and 439/8 B.C., and to the Propylaea in 437/6 to 435/4, now return to the Parthenon.

L. 22—ϚΔΔΔΔ (?), Kirchhoff; I complete the weight to fit the ratio 14:1, as described below.

L. 25—the weight of the ivory was more than 2 talents 60 dr., but less than 4 talents 5960 dr.; the value, in proportion to silver or gold, was at most less than half of the quotations for the best ivory in recent times, though this is offset by the modern decrease in the actual value of gold and silver.

Ll. 35–36—the formula was suggested by Woodward (*l.c.* p. 192, n. 4) in connection with *I.G.* I, 307, and is now confirmed by the junction to *I.G.* I, 221, which adds the interesting fact that in 434/3, the sixth year of work on the pediments, the sculptors were paid 16,392 dr.

L. 38—no word indicating the class of people who received this payment, such as the use of the dative case would require, can fit this space; the only possible word is *καταμενίους*, which should properly be in the genitive case; this is the usual place, just after the payment to the sculptors, for the entry *καταμενίων*. These are the monthly salaries of the architect, the epistatae, and their secretary; the amount, 1800 dr., is correct for six persons paid 30 dr. a month, *i.e.* the architect, the secretary, and four epistatae (whose number varied, however, from three to five).

L. 39—the amount of the surplus is unknown; the receipts amounted to 29,147 dr. 4 ob., of which at least 20,620 dr. 3 ob. were expended.

Herodotus (III, 95) says the ratio of values of equal weights of gold and silver was as 13:1; but from the slight traces on our inscription Kirchhoff conjectured that the ratio rose to rather more than 14:1 (*Monatsb. Berl. Akad.* 1861, 860 f.). On a fragment of the accounts for the chryselephantine statue (*I.G.* I, 298 suppl. p. 146) one may read, according to the usual interpretation, that 6 talents, 1528 (or -9) or 1618 (or -9) drachmae, and 5 obols weight of gold cost 87 talents 4652 dr. of silver. It seems better to read the IIIII with the marginal entry, as 87 talents 4652 dr. 5 ob., a fourteenth of which would be 6 talents 1618 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. (ΠΤΧ|Π[H]ΔΓ†††[C]), exactly fitting the indications on the stone and giving the ratio as exactly 14:1.

By the end of 433/2 B.C. the work had been completely finished.<sup>1</sup> As appears from the junction of F (*I.G.* I, 301 *a*) to C, the account of this fifteenth year was inscribed, not on the narrow edge below the fourteenth year, as has been supposed, but on the opposite narrow edge, so that all four faces of the stele were used. The position of the account is remarkable; instead of beginning at the top of the stele, as on the three other faces, it begins 0.57 m. below the top.

[τ] Ο Ι Ξ Ε Ρ Ι Ξ Τ Α Τ Ε Ξ Ι Η Ο  
 [ι] Ξ Α Ν Τ Ι Κ Λ Ε Ξ Ε Λ Ρ Α Μ  
 Μ Α Τ Ε Υ Ε : Ε Ρ Ι Τ Ε Ξ Ρ Ε Μ [π]  
 — Ε Ξ Κ Α Ι Δ Ε Κ Α Τ Ε Ξ Β Ο Λ  
 5 Ξ Ξ Η Ε Ι Κ Ρ Ι Τ Ι Α Δ Ε Ξ Ρ Ρ Ο  
 Τ Ο Ξ Ε Λ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ε Υ Ε  
 Ε Ρ Ι Α Φ Ξ Ε Υ Δ Ο Ξ Α Ρ Χ Ο ς  
 [τ] ϝ Ξ Α Θ Ε Ν Α Ι Ο Ι Ξ : Λ Ε Μ Ν  
 [α τ] ^ Τ Ο Ε Ν Ι Α Υ Τ Ο Τ Α Δ Ε  
 10 [π ε] Ρ Ι Λ Ε Ν Ο Μ Ε Ν Ο  
 [μ μ ε ν] — Κ Τ Ο Ρ Ρ Ο Τ  
 [ε ρ ο ε ν ι α ν τ ο]

The dimensions of the stele can be calculated with a fair degree of accuracy. The thickness, as already noted, was uni-

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis attempted to assign to 432/1 B.C., the fragment of the third year, *I.G.* I, 302 *a*.

formly 0.198 m., except at the very bottom, where it was increased to 0.21 m. by a *werkzoll* (as on the Propylaea stele) covering the reverse to a height of 0.20 m.<sup>1</sup> As for the width, we may estimate from J that the money column was at least 0.21 m. wide, the item column at least 0.31 m., both together amounting to a width of more than 0.52 m. The length of the prescript of the eleventh year (O + P), *i.e.* the combined widths of the money and item columns, was 0.58 m.<sup>2</sup> The total width of the two double columns would be somewhat more than twice this amount, or about 1.20 m., a result similar to that which we shall obtain for the Propylaea stele. The height can be estimated only by the spacing of the lines. On the obverse, the first twenty-nine lines occupy a space of 0.51 m., after which the lines are spaced regularly 0.0165 m. In the first column we require one hundred and sixteen lines, measuring 0.51 m. (ll. 1-29) + 1.43 m. (ll. 30-116) = 1.94 m.; the last line is 0.088 m. above the bottom of the stele, which would have been therefore about 2.04 m. high. Each broad face contained two double columns, each narrow edge one. In column I, including the first annual prescript which extended entirely across the stele, were one hundred and sixteen lines, ending 0.088 m. above the bottom; in column II, one hundred and nine lines ending 0.195 m. above the bottom; on the reverse, the *werkzoll* covered about 0.20 m. at the bottom, and the inscriptions ended about 0.16 m. higher; on the right edge, the fourteenth year's account began at the top and covered forty-four lines; and on the left edge the fifteenth year's account began 0.57 m. below the top, and was of unknown length.

In conclusion, the historical facts gleaned from this inscription may be summarized, with the assistance of other chronological sources, somewhat as follows :

Year I, 447/6 B.C.; Timarchides archon, — of Aphidna undersecretary of the epistatae, Diodorus of Paeonidae secre-

<sup>1</sup> This appears on M, but is badly footworn, having evidently formed the surface of a mediaeval pavement.

<sup>2</sup> The letters are spaced  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cm. on centres; the first letter of P is 0.36 m. from the right edge of the stele, and sixteen more spacings are needed to complete the restoration.

tary of the Hellenotamiae. The Parthenon begun with Ictinus and Callicrates as architects.

Year II, 446/5 B.C.; Callimachus archon. Work temporarily suspended on account of the campaign in Euboea.

Year III, 445/4 B.C.; Lysimachides archon, Eu—— secretary of the Hellenotamiae. Work on the Parthenon resumed.

Year IV, 444/3 B.C.; Praxiteles archon, Strombichus of Cholleidae secretary of the Hellenotamiae. The earliest extant notice of the contribution of the ἀπαρχή (then 42,675 dr. 5 ob.); Pericles falsely accused of the misuse of the Delian funds, by Thucydides; the charge dismissed and Thucydides ostracized. The new fleet of triremes finished and the surplus money (90,000 dr.) turned over to the Parthenon.

Wood is purchased, probably for scaffolding.

Year V, 443/2 B.C.; Lysanias archon, Timotheus annual secretary of the epistatae, Anticles appointed permanent under-secretary; Sophiades of Eleusis secretary of the Hellenotamiae. The middle long wall finished by Callicrates, and the surplus funds devoted to the Parthenon. The treasurers of Athena cease to contribute to the Parthenon, apparently because their money was needed to begin the chryselephantine statue.

Year VI, 442/1 B.C.; Diphilus archon, Anticles under-secretary of the epistatae, Chalcideus of Melite secretary of the Hellenotamiae.

Year VII, 441/0 B.C.; Timocles archon, Anticles under-secretary of the epistatae. The columns channeled, and work begun on the ceilings and roof.

Year VIII, 440/39 B.C.; Morychides archon, Anticles under-secretary of the epistatae, Sosistratus of Hybadae secretary of the Hellenotamiae. Work on the ceilings and roof completed; ivory bought, and gold and silver workers paid, for decorating the pedestal of the chryselephantine statue; marble brought to the ateliers, probably to be in readiness for beginning the pediment sculptures.

Year IX, 439/8 B.C.; Glaucinus archon, Dionysiphilus (?) of Probalinthus secretary of the epistatae, Anticles under-secretary, — of Rhamnus (or Hagnus) secretary of the Hellenotamiae. Contributions from private individuals, hitherto given for the chryselephantine statue, now given to

the Parthenon. The statue completed by Phidias; its surplus material turned over to the Parthenon by the epistatae of the statue, and the gold and silver begin to be sold, perhaps to assist in paying for the carving of the pediment sculptures (which were probably likewise the work of Phidias and of his assistants). The Parthenon virtually completed, and surplus wood from the scaffoldings and roof is sold. The pediment sculptures begun and no other work done in this year.

Year X, 438/7 B.C.; Theodorus archon, Anticles under-secretary of the epistatae, — of Acharnae secretary of the Hellenotamiae. The doors of the naos set in place, completing the work on the temple; the statue of Athena Parthenos dedicated at the Panathenaic festival.

Year XI, 437/6 B.C.; Euthymenes archon, Peithiades first secretary of the senate; Anticles acting secretary of the epistatae, —cus of the Ceramicus secretary of the Hellenotamiae. The Propylaea begun, whereupon the Hellenotamiae cease to contribute to the Parthenon, and the treasurers of Athena, instead of resuming their contributions for the construction of the Parthenon (now that the statue has been completed), likewise divert their funds to the Propylaea. Surplus ivory and tin sold, and work henceforth confined to the pediment sculptures.

Year XII, 436/5 B.C.; Lysimachus archon, Anticles appointed permanent secretary of the epistatae, Philetaerus (or Philemonides) of Aexone secretary of the Hellenotamiae.

Year XIII, 435/4 B.C.; Antiochides archon, — as first secretary of the senate, Anticles secretary of the epistatae, Thoinilus (of Acharnae) of the Hellenotamiae.

Year XIV, 434/3 B.C.; Crates archon, Metagenes first secretary of the senate, Anticles secretary of the epistatae, Crates (of Lamprae) of the treasurers of Athena, Protonicus (of the Ceramicus) of the Hellenotamiae. As the Propylaea approach completion, the treasurers of Athena give part of their funds to the Parthenon sculptures. Of the total receipts 29,147 dr. 4 ob. in this year, 16,392 dr. given as wages to the sculptors, and 1800 dr. as salaries to the epistatae and their secretary.

Year XV, 433/2 B.C.; Apseudes archon, Critiades first secretary of the senate, Anticles secretary of the epistatae, Euthias

(of Anaphlystus) of the treasurers of Athena. The Parthenon sculptures completed and the accounts closed; Phidias accused of embezzlement and impiety, imprisoned, and later executed; the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War at the same time terminates work on the Propylaea and the Erechtheum.

WILLIAM B. DINSMOOR.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL  
STUDIES, ATHENS.

#### CORRECTION

In the last line of the note on page 542 of the last volume of this JOURNAL (XVI, 1912, p. 542), for 30.95 m. read 26.40 m.